

## Message Text

PAGE 01 KABUL 06660 121235Z

44

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-13 OMB-01 AID-20 EB-11 DRC-01

/174 W

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P R 121050Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5064

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 6660

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT, AF

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S FAREWELL CALLS ON PRESIDENT DAUD AND MR. NAIM

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR'S FINAL MEETINGS WITH DAUD AND NAIM MARKED BY WARM ATMOSPHERE AND HOPES THEY STRONGLY EXPRESSED FOR CONTINUED US SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO NEW REGIME. MUCH SOFTER LINE ON PUSHTUNISTAN EVIDENT. DAUD PREDICTED MUCH MORE CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER ECONOMY, AND A NEW CONSTITUTION PERHAPS A YEAR HENCE WITH INITIALLY A ONE PARTY SYSTEM, LATER WITH A SECOND CONTROLLED OPPOSITION PARTY. END SUMMARY.

1. JUST PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FROM POST ON SEPTEMBER 10, AMBASSADOR NEUMANN PAID FAREWELL CALLS ON PRESIDENT DAUD AND HIS BROTHER, MR. NAIM. ATMOSPHERE IN BOTH MEETINGS WAS ESPECIALLY WARM AND SOMEWHAT NOSTALGIC, WITH BOTH LEADERS EXPRESSING PARTICULAR APPRECIATION THAT AMBASSADOR HAD ATTEMPTED TO MAINTAIN SOME INFORMAL CONTACT WITH THEM DURING TEN YEARS DAUD WAS OUT OF POWER. DAUD PARTICULARLY MADE POINT THAT NO OTHER FOREIGN  
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PAGE 02 KABUL 06660 121235Z

REPRESENTATIVES HAD DONE SO.

2. ONLY NEW ITEM OF SIGNIFICANCE IN MEETING WITH NAIM WAS TONE OF DISCUSSION ON PUSHTUNISTAN AND IRAN. NAIM TOOK MUCH MORE BALANCED

LINE ON AFGHAN RELATIONS WITH BOTH ITS NEIGHBORS THAN IN PREVIOUS CONVERSATIONS. WITH REGARD TO PAKISTAN, HE SPECIFICALLY STRESSED THAT "ALL WE WANT IS FOR THE PUSHTUNS TO BE HAPPY IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY," A MUCH MORE ENCOURAGING FORMULATION THAN THOSE USED PREVIOUSLY BY GOA SPOKESMEN.

3. MEETING WITH DAUD ON SEPTEMBER 8 LASTED APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR, WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER WAHID ABDULLAH PRESENT FOR ROUGHLY SECOND HALF. AMBASSADOR REVIEWED CHANGES IN WORLD SITUATION SINCE THEY HAD FIRST MET IN LOS ANGELES DURING DAUD'S EARLIER PRIME MINISTERSHIP. AT THAT TIME, WORLD WAS STILL DOMINATED BY OVER-RIDING EAST-WEST RIVALRY, AND WAS PREOCCUPIED WITH SEEMING MONOLITHIC CHARACTER OF COMMUNIST BLOCK. THAT TYPE OF CONFRONTATION HAS NOW BEEN MODIFIED. WHILE RIVALRY BETWEEN SOVIET UNION AND US STILL EXISTS, IN NUCLEAR AGE BOTH SIDES NOW SEEM TO RECOGNIZE THAT DANGERS OF COLLISION ARE TOO GREAT TO RISK. AFGHANISTAN HAS INDEED BENEFITTED ECONOMICALLY IN PAST FROM GREAT POWER RIVALRIES, AND TO SOME EXTENT STILL BENEFITS. AMBASSADOR, HOWEVER, THEN POINTED OUT THAT US POLICY EMPHASIS TOWARD THIS REGION PUTS HEAVY PRIORITY ON STABILITY; AND SOVIET UNION ALSO SEEMS TO DEMONSTRATE CONSIDERABLE SIMILAR INTEREST. GIVEN THIS EMPHASIS ON OVERRIDING POLICY OF REGIONAL STABILITY, AMBASSADOR SAID HE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR HIS SUCCESSORS TO MAKE AN EFFECTIVE CASE TO EITHER ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR AFGHANISTAN IF REGIONAL STABILITY WERE TO BE SERIOUSLY THREATENED. WE REALIZE, OF COURSE, THAT STABILITY HARDLY DEPENDS ON AFGHANISTAN ALONE, AND WE HAVE THEREFORE TRIED TO BE HELPFUL IN RESPONSE TO THE GOA'S REQUEST FOR OUR "GOOD OFFICES" WITH ISLAMABAD IN CONNECTION WITH PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE. HOWEVER, HE STRESSED, OUR INFLUENCE ON THIS MATTER IS CLEARLY LIMITED. IT IS A PROBLEM WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED BY THE TWO COUNTRIES CONCERNED. HE MERELY WANTED TO UNDERSCORE THAT IN VIEW OF AFGHANISTAN'S HISTORIC CONCERN FOR PROTECTING ITS OWN INDEPENDENCE BY PRESERVING A BALANCED PRESENCE OF FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE COUNTRY, AND IN LIGHT OF THE CURRENT SKEPTICAL CLIMATE IN US CONGRESS WITH REGARD TO FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, PRESIDENT DAUD SHOULD BE EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS AND AS MODERATE AS POSSIBLE IN HIS HANDLING OF PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KABUL 06660 121235Z

4. IN RESPONSE, DAUD SAID HE DEEPLY APPRECIATED MODERATING COUNSEL WHICH WE HAD GIVEN IN ISLAMABAD AND HOPED WE WOULD CONTINUE TO SUGGEST TO PAKISTANIS THAT THEY BE REASONABLE IN THEIR HANDLING OF THIS DELICATE MATTER. HE SAID HE NOW UNDERSTANDS US POSITION MUCH BETTER. HE HAD ALWAYS TAKEN PAINS TO EXPRESS TO ALL THOSE US AMBASSADORS HE HAD KNOWN OVER THE YEARS THAT AFGHANISTAN ABOVE ALL WISHES TO PROTECT ITS INDEPENDENCE, AND THAT TO DO SO IT NEEDS CONTINUED US SUPPORT. HE EMPHASIZED HIS PEACEFUL INTENTIONS TOWARD PAKISTAN, SAYING HE WOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO HANDLE ISSUE IN A PEACEFUL WAY, AND THAT ONLY UNDER PROVOCATION OF MOST EXTREME OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE WOULD HE BE FORCED TO A DIFFERENT OUTCOME. (FYI: SUBJECT OF AFGHAN-IRANIAN RELATIONS WAS NOT RAISED.)

5. IN RESPONSE TO SOME OBSERVATIONS BY AMBASSADOR NEUMANN ABOUT OBVIOUS STATE OF DRIFTG UITSQBVP NDPUDKLACK OF ECONOMIC DECISIONS, DAUD AGREED THAT ECONOMIC PICTURE WAS A DARK ONE AND SAID THAT STRONGER CENTRALIZED DIRECTION WAS ESSENTIAL. HE SAID THAT GOVERNMENT WAS MOVING TOWARD SOME SOLUTIONS, BUT THAT US MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THESE SOLUTIONS WOULD NECESSARILY REQUIRE A MORE "DIRIGISTE" ECONOMIC SYSTEM THAN THAT CURRENTLY IN EFFECT. HE SAID THAT FREE ENTERPRISE WAS NEEDED AND MUST BE ENCOURAGED, BUT THAT IT HAD BEEN BADLY MISUSED UNDER PREVIOUS REGIME. HE CITED AS EXAMPLE IMPORT OF GOODS FREE OF DUTY UNDER PRIVATE INVESTMENT LAW, OSTENSIBLY AS RAW MATERIALS FOR LOCAL MANUFACTURE, WHICH WERE IMMEDIATELY RE-EXPORTED ILLEGALLY BY PRIVATE SECTOR. DAUD SAID THAT THROUGHOUT ECONOMY, AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING, ECONOMIC ACTIVITY MUST BE "DIRECTED"

BY GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE TO SET CAREFUL PRIORITIES AND ESTABLISH CERTAIN MUCH NEEDED CONTROLS.

6. IN A PARALLEL DISCUSSION OF THE FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM HE WISHED TO SEE EVOLVE, DAUD SAID THAT WORK WAS NOW GOING FORWARD ON DRAFTING NEW CONSTITUTION, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE PERHAPS A YEAR IN GESTATION. HE ENVISIONED INITIALLY A ONE PARTY SYSTEM, EVENTUALLY ADDING A SECOND OPPOSITION PARTY WHICH, HOWEVER, WOULD BE CONTROLLED TO SOME EXTENT TO PRECLUDE THE TYPE OF "IRRESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION" DEMONSTRATED BY PARLIAMENTS DURING THE PAST DECADE.

7. COMMENT: TONE AND ATMOSPHERE OF MEETING COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE FRIENDLY, AND WE ARE HEARING FROM OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS ECHOES OF DAUD'S LINE THAT GOA WISHES NOT ONLY CONTINUE BUT INCREASE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KABUL 06660 121235Z

SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE FROM US AND OTHER FOREIGN FRIENDS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT SPIRITED STRUGGLE HAS BEEN GOING ON OVER PROPOSAL TO INTRODUCE STRICT EXCHANGE CONTROLS, BITTERLY OPPOSED BY PRIVATE SECTOR AS BOTH UNWORKABLE AND ECONOMICALLY DISASTROUS. OUTCOME NOT YET ANNOUNCED, ALTHOUGH DAUD'S REMARKS ABOUT NEED FOR A MUCH MORE "DIRIGISTE" ECONOMIC SYSTEM MAKES IT LIKELY THAT CONTROLS WILL IN SOME FORM BE IMPOSED.  
LEWIS

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 10 MAY 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AMITY, CONSTITUTION, ECONOMIC STABILITY, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, CENTRAL  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 SEP 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
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**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
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**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** garlanwa  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 28 SEP 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <28-Sep-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <04-Dec-2001 by garlanwa>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** AMBASSADOR'S FAREWELL CALLS ON PRESIDENT DAUD AND MR. NAIM  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINS, PINT, AF, (DAUD, PRESIDENT)  
**To:** STATE INFO ANKARA  
ISLAMABAD  
MOSCOW  
NEW DELHI  
TEHRAN  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

